2: Thompson E-S (1933-1934)1940 GQ6 Lau GQ6
Kambara

423 [674] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau*, located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova*, is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging [184] to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it.

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

Z: Thompson E. 5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valu- 422
ables." (See Tuting, 25, p. 36.) 556

Whales' teeth are sed only ceremonially. They are the most important 436
objects of ceremonial xchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial
presentation of a whale 's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great
deal of prestige. Whale s' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials
as tribute from the peo ple, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of
the whales' teeth in Fij

According to Marin er (19, p. 302), it formerly was dangerous for a man [177]
other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By
amassing sufficient wea th a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth
through ceremonial exc ange.

In general, ownersh p of moveable property is determined by labor. Manu- 422
factured goods such as nats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly
by one individual or h usehold, belong to the maker and are considered the
property of the househ ld. By the *kerokero* system (p. 207), however, they
may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial
exchanges. Objects wh ch are the result of communal labor (such as houses,
canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered
to be the property of t e individual who organized and paid for the labor.
The clan has an interes in them, since clan resources were used to make the
payments. Other object of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle
nets, and goods for trib te (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which
are the result of the co bined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be
village property. Coveri ment houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats,
made by island or distri t labor are the property of the district or island.

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane
knives, baskets, and slee ping mats are the property of the individual but are
always liable to be soli ited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupetchi*) for [424
rubbing on barkcloth ar e owned by individual women. They are inherited 428
from a woman by her laughter. A man's private property is inherited by
his sons. If the sons are oung, his older brother becomes their guardian unless
they are adopted into the ir mother's clan, in which case their mother's father
or older brother becomes the guardian.

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of cl an traditions are owned by the clan and may be told 424
only by the clan headma n. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the
headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the in-
dividual. They are usual y kept secret and handed down from parent to child.
I found no privately ow ed *meke*.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau.

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house.

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick.

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

556 centralization of wealth and brings about its continual redis-
431 tribution. The underlying principle is clearly expressed in the native soliciting system. Under the soliciting system a man loses face if he refuses to give up property solicited by a relative. However, the recipient is under obligation to the donor, who has the right to retaliate by soliciting something of greater value from him at some future time. Hence the institution is really a system of reciprocal gift exchange. One day I gave a necklace of bright green beads to one of the girls in Tokalau. The next day I noticed another Tokalau girl wearing it. In the course of time the green necklace traveled from neck to neck through the village, and when I visited Undu at the other end of the island there it was ornamenting one of the Undu belles.

556 The native soliciting system does not differ in principle
431 from other types of exchange in Lau such as the *solevu*, which
585 has been described in connection with a Lauan wedding. The *solevu* is a competitive type of ceremonial gift exchange between related groups. As we have seen, marriage in Lau initiates a series of *solevus* between the inter-marrying clans. Inter-island trade on a large scale is carried on mainly through *solevus* between villages. The *solevu* ceremonial pattern varies in detail, but always involves the display of property belonging to the rival groups by means of processions, piling up on the village ceremonial ground and the ceremonial presentation of property by each donor group, acceptance by the recipients, feasting, and dancing. Whale's teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange. Tribute is also presented by means of the *solevu* at the high chief's court on important occasions such as the marriage or death of the chief.

435 Under the old native system there was no definite standard
436 by which the relative value of objects of exchange could be measured. True money was absent. The most valued object in Lau was, and still is, the beautiful polished ivory tooth

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard